2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; *idem*, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

592 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the ●357 veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

463 These family servants, *!gan*, are to be distinguished from the 465 *!gaisan*, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they [357] cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children are free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
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young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [439] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

461 357 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 146 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 797 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this 411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are 262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama